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October 1972

GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF CITIES: Abstract and Bibliography
Part XI: SOCIALIST CITIES

Morris Zeitlin

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GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF CITIES:
ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHYPART XI:
SOCIALIST CITIES.

by

Morris Zeitlin

INTRODUCTION

Owing to one common characteristic -- industrialization -- city planning thought in the industrially advanced countries, both capitalist and socialist, asks similar questions but with a radical difference. The difference stems from the essentially antithetical ends to which the two political systems put their industrial technology. This difference affects their planning goals and, consequently, their urban practice and theory. Scholars in both systems seek to understand the process of urbanization, the nature of urban culture, what causes rapid development in some cities, slow in others, and stagnation in still others. But whereas one system, geared to respond mainly to private gain, frustrates such study, the other encourages it by making possible vast urban experimentation thanks to the public ownership of all land and material resources and the central planning of national life for the common good. In contrast with the generally passive forecasting of spontaneous urban development in capitalist countries, active planning is a universal characteristic in socialist city development.

Socialist city planning was pioneered in the Soviet Union. It began within a ruined, mostly rural, economy, without skilled cadres, without historic precedent, with only utopian models and meager scientific data to go by. Hypotheses had to be reasoned out and tested, and experience accumulated on which theory could be built and perfected. These efforts were hampered, in its early period, by the country's crash program to promote construction of basic industry, and rudely disrupted later by the devastation of World War II. The long period of reconstruction which followed had once again awarded highest priority to industrialization and a secondary place to city development. Not until the 1960's could resources be diverted in increasing quantities to promote the welfare of cities and significant strides made in city planning practice and theory.

Socialist urban theory has closely followed practice. As field data disproved previously held notions, critical public debates ensued on the need to adjust principles in order to raise city development to a higher level. Increased experience with urban development and administration since the 1960's has gradually revised old positions regarding the control of city size. There is a growing recognition of the unity of metropolitan urban development. And central planning has gradually delegated greater financial responsibility and decision-making powers to municipalities.

The Soviet pioneering experience in socialist city planning provided a solid base for urban development in the countries that have gone socialist after World War II. Though city planning

differs somewhat in each of them -- influenced as it must be by a respectively unique history and economic, political, and cultural heritage -- their common socialist structure and goals have moved urban development and thought in all of them along similar lines. Most English literature on socialist cities deals with the Soviet Union. Except for Poland and Yugoslavia, little has been published, unfortunately, about cities in other socialist countries.

As one reads the English literature on socialist cities one becomes aware of discrepancies between what socialist writers state about the goals and principles of socialist city planning and how American observers interpret them. Even what the most educated American eye sees appears to be conditioned by an anti-socialist ideological bias. American social scientists tend to generalize their findings in American society and project these generalizations to the qualitatively different socialist society. There appears to be a basic inability, or unwillingness, on the part of American scholars to look objectively at socialist society, cities and urban theory and judge them on their own merits.

ABSTRACTS OF SELECTED WORKS

Blumenfeld, Hans. "Russian City Planning of the 18th and Early 19th Centuries." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. 4, Nos. 1-4, January-October 1944, pp. 22-33. Diagrams.

Most Russian cities were founded in three periods: (1) the pioneer period (reign of Peter I), (2) the period of city replanning in the 18th century tradition of town design (reign of Catherine II), and (3) the period of city-plan implementation in the "Empire" style (reign of Alexander I). The radiocentric, rectangular, fan shaped, and diagonal street patterns were used; many city plans were of mixed types.

The distinct patterns these periods had stamped upon Russian cities differ from those developed in western Europe and America. Russian cities have more varied street plans. They share with their European counterpart the emphasis on a strong city center. But their plazas, avenues, boulevards, and streets are wider and the buildings are lower and more uniform in appearance.

For a time Soviet planners thought that modern industrial cities should have radically new, centerless, patterns. But the traditional concept of the Russian city prevailed. Contemporary city plans emphasize a definite center.

Blumenfeld, Hans. "Regional and City Planning in the Soviet Union." Task, No. 3, October 1942, pp. 33-52. Maps. Plans.

Drawings on his planning experience in the Soviet Union, Blumenfeld describes the vast scale and problems of Soviet city building and the development of city and regional planning between 1917 and World War II.

Having placed all land in the public domain, the new regime at once expanded city planning. Following European experience, it planned new cities along garden-city lines, zoned the old cities, built parks, reclaimed waterfronts, added new quarters, and began to improve streets and municipal services. Until the first Five Year Plan, its planners continued to forecast the future by projecting past trends. But in 1927, "forecasting of what people might be expected to do was replaced by a coordinated plan of what they intended to do."

The author describes the early stages of integrated national planning and the evolution of its planning concepts and methods. Based on the principle of proceeding from the whole to the part, economic and social planning set goals, determined quantities and fixed locations to pave the way for physical planning and construction.

Regional Planning. Following a brief sketch of the typically imperialist regional economic pattern of Tsarist Russia, Blumenfeld describes Soviet regional planning policy within the framework of the national economic plan: industrialization of backward regions; location of varied-industry ("combinates") nuclei in rural areas based on energy and raw-material resources; limiting big-city growth and developing cities 50,000 to 1,000,000 population -- the size range considered most suitable for full development of municipal services and cultural life; and rational redistribution of agriculture. He also describes the types of Soviet regions and the similarities and differences between Soviet regional planning and long-range planning in unplanned economies. He then depicts a typical Soviet regional planning team: its organization, project assignment, fee system, methods of planning and plan implementation.

City Planning. Soviet city building had a hard start. Engrossed in debates over the ideal socialist city pattern and long-range planning, its planners let early city building go unguided causing crudeness and waste in construction. Gradually workable planning methods emerged. To speed it, the planning process was phased in three stages: 1) Investigation and presentation of data; 2) Development and legal adoption of a long-range land-use plan; and 3) Preparation of a short-range construction plan.

Blumenfeld describes the evolution of Soviet land use planning standards; integration of urban and peripheral rural land uses; urban design; early theory on, and versions of, the superblock -- the basic unit of Soviet city building; the function of a typical city planning team; and the legal review, adoption and enforcement of a land use plan.

In an extended discussion, the author describes housing conditions under the Tsar and the Soviet housing reforms; the special housing problems created by the backward building industry and the rapid industrial and urban growth; the early emergency housing; early housing theory and the evolution of standard housing types and community facilities; the development of prefabrication and rapid construction techniques and the growth of the housing inventory.

* For a detailed description see the author's "Soviet City Planning: An Example." American Review of the Soviet Union, Vol. VI, No. 1, November 1944, pp. 53-65, reprinted in Planning and Reconstruction Yearbook, 1946. London: Todd Reference Books, Ltd., pp. 250-260.

Meyer, Hannes. "The Soviet Architect." Task, No. 3, October 1942, pp. 24-32. Illustrated.

The Socialist Revolution, Meyer observes, altered the role of Russian architects from serving a privileged minority to serving the people. The current neo-classical Soviet architecture reflects a transition from Russia's past to its dynamic present. But new trends appear in the modern buildings along the Volga-Don Canal project and in Moscow's latest subway stations.

Meyer briefly describes the Soviet Union's social structure and its current building goals and program; the growth of its architectural profession, its form of practice, and curricula in architectural schools; the functions and responsibilities of architects and social and legal controls over their activities; the effects of public land ownership on architectural practice; the function of the Federation of Soviet Architects and its responsibilities to its membership and to society; and the function of the Soviet Academy of Architecture and its several institutes.

The author then describes four stages of architectural development during the periods of Reconstruction and the NEP (New Economic Policy), and the three Five Year Plans of 1928-1932, 1933-1937, and 1938-1942.

The Period of Reconstruction and the NEP. Painters, sculptors, and cinema and theater artists, rather than architects, led in design. "Individualistic and anarchistic, each of them struggled to put forward his own particular 'ism'" oblivious to the needs and acts of the people while crude reconstruction proceeded unguided and with extremely limited resources.

The Period of the First Five Year Plan, 1928-1932. All available resources and millions of workers were moved to new sites to build 500 huge industrial centers. Hostile to the new regime, technical professionals tended to remain in the big cities. The advanced ideas of imported architects collided with the limited resources of the backward building industry. Megalomania gripped housing design: dwelling "combines" were built for 1,000 to 3,000 tenants per block provided with "factory kitchens" serving 10,000 to 25,000 meals per day. The government experimented with new types of public buildings: clubs, sanatoria, schools, but housing was assigned a low priority.

The Period of the Second Five Year Plan, 1933-1937. The rate of economic growth increased, production of consumer goods expanded, incomes rose, life grew gainer. National attention focused on family life. New superblock housing carefully separated the private from the communal aspects of life. New thousands of technical graduates spurred some decentralization of planning and technical aid to construction in the hinterland. Retired foreign architects were being replaced with native young architects. Russian architects reexamined their architectural heritage and gradually synthesized the traditional with the modern. Heated debates developed over designs for the Palace of Soviets, buildings along the Moscow-Don Canal, and Moscow's subway stations. New cities rose in remote regions. The Moscow Plan established the principles of Soviet city planning.

The Period of the Third Five Year Plan, 1938-1942. Three principal national goals emerged: to overcome and surpass the advanced economies of Europe and the United States; to vastly increase consumer goods production; and to raise the cultural and technical levels of workers. The newly set up People's Commissariat for Building Materials focused attention on the backwardness of the building industry and stressed mechanization of building and the use of rapid construction methods on the site. Megalomania in construction was attacked; smaller industrial and urban centers were advocated. Two outstanding events marked development in architecture: the 1939-1941 USSR Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow and the award of Stalin Prizes for architectural achievement. The first stimulated ideas on rural planning and architecture. The second rewarded harmonious use of materials, fineness in detail, and painstaking workmanship.

Blumenfeld, Hans. "The Soviet Housing Problem." The American Review of the Soviet Union, Vol. VII, No. 1, November 1945, pp. 12-25.

The author describes and discusses:

1. The housing background against which the living habits, attitudes, and standards of the Soviet people were formed: the pre-revolutionary rural and nomad housing of the many ethnic groups in the several geographic areas, and the housing of workers and upper-income classes in cities.
2. The revolution's housing reforms and its subsequent experience in nationalized-housing management.
3. Makeshift housing in pioneer settlements during the early stages of industrialization.
4. Construction, in the 1930's, of single-family houses in rural and urban-fringe areas, walk-up apartment buildings in cities, elevator apartment houses along avenues and waterfronts.

5. Housing construction policy: all new housing as integrated parts of traffic-free neighborhood superblocks provided with child-care and community facilities.
6. Shifts in site planning and architectural design.
7. The pre-war achievements: development of the building industry and of prefabrication; rise in building labor force and skills; doubling of housing supply; extensive alteration of old buildings.
8. Wartime emergency-housing construction.
9. The postwar housing program and the trend toward high-rise apartment buildings.

Hazard, John W. Soviet Housing Law. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1939. 178 Tables. Bibliography.

Hazard's acquaintance with Soviet housing law comes from a three-year study in a Soviet law school and residence in various kinds of Moscow dwellings. In his book, he analyzes statutes and reports observed court practices. Throughout the work, he compares the concepts and practices of Soviet housing laws with those of Common Law in the United States.

In Chapter I, "Housing and the Revolution," the author defines the main points of Soviet housing laws, outlines the basic stages through which the laws had developed, and analyzes their most litigated aspects. He describes housing ownership and types of buildings before the revolution; the revolution's nationalization of land and buildings and its rent policy; and the management problems that arose in the transition from private to public ownership, from shortages of building maintenance materials, and due to heavy migration from the country to the cities.

Other chapters deal with "Acquiring the Right to Occupy Dwelling Space," "The Duty to Pay Rent," "Other Statutory Duties of Occupants of Dwelling Space," the "Duties of a Lessor," "Temporary Occupants and Sublessees," "Exchange of Dwelling Space," "Termination of Occupancy," "Resumption of Possession," "Disputes and Discipline," and the statutory jurisdiction and structure of the "comradely court."

Of the volume's two appendices, the first is a model lease for tenants in state-owned dwellings operated by local Soviets. The second is the text of the 1937 "Law on the Preservation of the Housing Fund and the Improvement of Housing in Cities."

Carter, Edward. "Soviet Architecture Today." Task, No. 6, Winter 1944-1945, pp. 38-45. Photos.

The article by Mr. Carter, Librarian of the Royal Institute of British Architects, is one of the rare attempts by a western architectural critic to study Soviet architecture and its motives sympathetically. It traces the history of architectural thought in the USSR since the revolution and explains the origin and victory of the neoclassical style over the Functionalist, Constructivist and International schools of thought.

The author points out that no criticism of the ever changing Soviet architecture can be definitive.

Parker, John A., Maurice F. Parkins, Alex Peskin, Barclay G. Jones, Barbara V. Forbes and Janet Green. An Examination of Soviet Theory and Practice in City and Regional Planning. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1952. 751 pp. Maps. Tables. Diagrams. Selected bibliography.

A thorough examination of Soviet city and regional planning theory and practice from the revolution to about 1950.

Examining, first, the influences of urbanization in the Soviet Union, the authors describe the vast area of the U.S.S.R. and the affect of its natural conditions on the distribution and development of cities; the affect of the country's population patterns and its ethnological and cultural characteristics on city development; the Soviet political divisions; and the historical background of Russian cities and their conditions on the eve of the revolution.

The authors then examine the structure of the Soviet economy; the affect of Soviet policy on industrial location; Soviet organization for planning at various levels of government; the organizations concerned with city planning; the policies, processes, and methods of city planning; and the city planning and related professions.

The work concludes with an examination of trends in Soviet city planning current about 1950.

The volume's appendix describes the planning of the City of Leningrad and its reconstruction after World War II.

Parkins, Maurice Frank. City Planning in Soviet Russia. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. 257 pp. Plans. Charts. An interpretative bibliography of over 800 titles. A transliteration of the Russian alphabet. A glossary of Russian terms. Map of the USSR showing location of important cities.

An account of 1917-1954 Soviet city planning theory and practice based on original Russian documents and talks with architects and planners who had worked in the Soviet Union.

Following a brief sketch of Russian geography and history up to 1921, Parkins describes the evolution of Soviet urban planning through three stages: Initial or Restoration (1929-1931), Transitional (1931-1944), and Reconstruction (1945-1950).

In the Initial Stage, the USSR restored its war- and civil war-torn industry and municipal economy. Though it lacked a definite planning policy, principles, skills, a general building program or a building industry, it introduced mass-production methods in housing construction and built new workers' settlements and industrial cities. The new communities were built crudely. Appearance, climate, natural factors, local conditions, and socio-cultural facilities received little concern. Apartment blocks were built first, streets and utilities often followed much later. In its ideological search for urban and housing forms fitting for socialist cities, early planning theory naively combined the Marx-Engels idea of eradicating the difference between city and village with West European ideas and experiences. Lessons learned by trial and error soon argued against the use of any one urban form. In housing, hotel type one-room apartments with communal dining were abandoned in favor of family apartments.

Most of the shortcomings of the Initial Stage, observes Parkins, were eliminated during the Transitional Stage (1931-1944) which began with the June, 1931 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The Plenum denounced many utopian ideas which grew out of the theoretical search and technical experimentation of the Initial Stage; set a limit on the spread of large cities through controls on industrial expansion; initiated a law requiring new urban development to proceed only under the authority of a general plan integrated with the overall national economic plan; and directed the Moscow Soviet to prepare a general plan for the reconstruction of the national capital. "The importance of the Moscow Plan," states Parkins, "was that it set the standards of basic city planning principles which thereafter became the rule for Soviet city planners." He describes the plan, the city planning principles that emerged from it, its accomplishments and its shortcomings. "Though some principles resemble ours," he notes, "the difference lies chiefly in the fact that in the Soviet Union the nature and wide range of governmental powers permit their implementation in most cases."

Applying the planning principles developed in the Transition Stage, Soviet city planners completed plans, in the Reconstruction Stage (1946-1950), for rebuilding 300 cities. Parkins describes the plans' main features, the general reconstruction program, and the advances in the building industry: prefabrication, express methods of construction, invention and use of new building materials, and promotion of building research. Despite these advances, the building industry was still poorly organized and lagged in housing production both in quality and quantity. But the organization of the planning structure and process took definite form. Planning projects were prepared, coordinated and implemented more realistically. The training of architects and planners expanded. Standard plans for the several building types were put to use to speed construction. Planning of "agrorods" (rural cities) began, but few villages were rebuilt according to new plans.

Some of the author's observations:

1. "The highly centralized (planning) structure often imposes rules and policies that are so rigid and impractical of execution that quality is affected."
2. "Rationalization of the (planning) process has taken a long time to evolve. The whole organization is constantly being modified and improved, with too long intervals between changes."
3. "There seems to be a lack of citizen participation in planning policy. However, resistance to particular planning policies is expressed by the citizens themselves and by the profession through discussions and the press."
4. Party criticism and ideological dogma sometimes has been "helpful in eliminating inefficiency and poor practices. On the other hand, criticism of an ideological nature has often thwarted creative work." (Parkins describes the latitude and processes of expression and criticism between Party authorities and the planning profession).
5. "In spite of their rejection of Western ideology...(the Soviets) want to use the latest achievements and techniques of the world in planning and architecture -- not copy, but incorporate new meaning to suit socialist (living) expression."
6. The continuing extension of public facilities (public dining and food preparation, the network of nurseries and kindergartens, etc.) and the consequent narrowing of the sphere of individual housekeeping in urban areas "will manifest itself in new concepts and new forms of city development."

Blumenfeld, Hans. "Reconstruction: USSR." Task, No. 7-8, 1948, pp. 25-33.

Unlike the ad hoc postwar planning in non-socialist Europe, explains the author, reconstruction in the USSR proceeds as part of a continuing comprehensive planning process. He describes Soviet accomplishments in coping with pre- and post-war city planning problems, the new prefabrication techniques, and the functions of the National Committee on Architectural Affairs. He outlines the objectives of the new building program and the obstacles to its execution; the new planning principles, housing and community-facilities standards, and the priorities assigned in reconstruction of destroyed villages and cities, their transportation systems and municipal services. He cites examples and illustrates with statistics.

Blumenfeld, Hans. "Municipal Reconstruction." The U.S.S.R. in Reconstruction. New York: American-Russian Institute, Inc., 1944, pp. 72-82.

Blumenfeld describes the Soviet municipal engineering works completed before World War II and their defensive value during the war; the impact of the war and enemy occupation on Soviet cities; the municipal improvements in Soviet eastern cities to which industries and populations were evacuated; the policies, strategy and methods of city rebuilding; and the role of popular initiative and cooperation in Soviet municipal reconstruction.

Bylinkin, N. "Reconstruction and Housing." The Architectural Review, Vol. CI, No. 605, May 1947, pp. 182-184. Illustrated. Drawings. Plans.

Citing specific examples, facts, and figures, the author describes reconstruction problems, planning policies, and building procedures adopted to restore Soviet cities destroyed in World War II.

Some of his comments:

1. Two principles guide Soviet architects and builders in restoration of destroyed towns and cities:
 - a) Achievement of favorable sanitary and health conditions through maxima placed on population densities and land-coverage ratios. Using four-story buildings, for example, a top density of 400 to 450 people per hectare (162 to 182 people per acre) and a top building coverage of 20 to 25 percent are imposed.
 - b) Provision of adequate kindergartens, nurseries, schools, shops, public dining halls, playgrounds and recreation parks for children and adults in all residential developments.

2. Experience suggests the desirability to limit the size of residential developments to an average of four to six hectares (about ten to fifteen acres). It argues also against the pre-war practice of building superblocks around a large inner park. The latter tends to destroy residential intimacy and, looking like a public park, prevents the residents from feeling personally responsible for its maintenance and improvement.
3. Soviet architects have long shared some residential planning ideas with their Western counterparts. But they consider the social-harmony expectations of the British and American champions of the neighborhood-unit idea to be rather naive. These champions, they think, fear the thought that the contradictions of their cities spring less from obsolescence than from the "social structure inherent in the very nature of capitalist society." The planned neighborhood unit, they say, cannot overcome the class antagonisms or remedy the social evils of the capitalist city. They accept the neighborhood idea "as a means of clean-cut and rational development...for the residential areas of a city -- but nothing more."
4. Nor do Soviet architects accept the Western denial and decentralization of the city. "A Soviet citizen," the author states, "does not live confined to his residential quarter.... He...regards the city in its entirety as his home.... The collective existence of Soviet citizens in their cities constitutes one of the most important features of their life outlook."

Cobb, Henry N. "Reconstruction: Poland." Task, No. 7-8, 1948, pp. 43-46.

Cobb describes the extent of Poland's war destruction and highlights the goals of the Polish preliminary National Plan. The plan foresees three progressive stages of national development: 1) Reconstruction, 2) Industrialization, and 3) Urbanization.

The Reconstruction Stage will:

- a) Revive the existing industrial centers.
- b) Move population surpluses from the rural east to the revived depopulated western areas.

The Industrial Stage will:

- a) Direct remaining rural population surpluses to expanding industrial centers.
- b) Decentralize industry and form new industrial regions in the medium and small towns.

The Urbanization Stage will:

- a) Complete the countrywide distribution of industrialized urban regions.
- b) Rationalize and integrate agriculture within the urban industrial regions.

Cobb cites the obstacles to implementing the National Plan and the progress made in various parts of Poland.

Syrkus, Helene and Szymon, with Matthew Novicki. "Reconstruction: Warsaw." Task, No. 7-8, 1948, pp. 47-49.

A brief account of the preliminary master plan of Warsaw. The city's geographic location leads its planners to expect its development into a major world trade center and plan it as a great city-region.

The old city pattern having been destroyed and the land nationalized, the city is freely replanned to make rational use of its natural conditions. Large central sites are assigned for national and international functions, administrative buildings, and light industry. Big and noxious industries are placed on the outskirts.

Residential Warsaw is divided into 200 urban and suburban 100-acre neighborhood units, housing 5000 to 10000 people at densities of forty per acre in central units. Bordered by major thoroughfares, each unit is buffered by service and shopping establishments accessible on foot from within and motor traffic from without. Community, recreation, shopping facilities and schools are placed within a maximum of one-half mile and nurseries within a maximum of one-quarter mile from any dwelling. Quite park zones are provided for the aged. High schools, hospitals and health clinics are placed centrally to serve several units. Public squares, within thirty-minute travel from any neighborhood unit, will contain operas, theaters, concert halls, universities and other cultural institutions.

The article includes tables listing proposed per-capita area standards for neighborhood units, residential, community and service facilities.

Chossudovsky, Dr. E.M. "The Development of Housing in the USSR." Housing and Town and Country Planning, United Nations Bulletin No. 5, 1951, pp. 81-93. Tables. Photos. Bibliography.

The author reviews Soviet 1917-1950 urban housing development. The relatively low pre-war housing standards, he states, resulted from: 1) the housing deficit the Soviet State inherited, and 2) its difficulty in meeting at once the demands of industrialization and housing for rapidly growing cities. He details the extent of housing destruction during the war, the progress in home building under the post-war five-year plan, and briefly describes the organization of the Soviet building industry and the general goals of city planning in the USSR.

Simon, Roger and Maurice Hookham. "Moscow" (in Great Cities of the World, William Alexander Robson, Editor. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1954, pp. 383-410. See abstract). Illustrated.

The authors describe Moscow's government, politics, and planning; its boundaries, area, and density; the election of deputies to the city Soviet; the district Soviets; a full meeting of the city Soviet; the structure, functions, and finances of the municipal government; and the preparation, principal features, and implementation of Moscow's reconstruction plans between 1935 and 1950.

Moscow, and other socialist cities, the authors conclude, enjoys three great advantages over cities in capitalist countries. 1) Social ownership of land limits the costs of reconstruction to the costs of demolition and new construction, frees planning from interference by vested interests, and enables the citizens to identify with the city and participate enthusiastically in its reconstruction program. 2) Social ownership and operation of all economic activities "enables the city planners to maintain a firm system of priorities for basic construction tasks so as to lay a sound basis for future development," permits control over the location of economic enterprises and activities, and enables the city government to plan and shape its system of streets and parks as a whole. 3) Social control of all buildings and municipal services safeguards the city's green belt, and makes possible to extend its boundaries as the city expands.

Svetlichny, B. "Designing Beautiful Cities." Nauka i Zhizn, No. 9, 1960 (The Soviet Review, Vol. II, No. 4, April 1961, pp. 28-33).

Socialist humanism demands of Soviet city builders a constant quest for urban beauty -- a task made hard by the wide use of standard building plans intended to solve the housing shortage in record time. Clumsy use of such plans, however, has produced monotonous neighborhoods, justly resented by the people and the Party. Yet, using the same standard plans, some architects have created residential neighborhoods of great charm. This they achieved through imaginative use of materials, textures and colors; variety in building heights, sizes and groups; and sensitive blending of buildings with their natural and man-made environments. To do away with monotonous corridor-like streets, Soviet architects no longer place buildings along street lines. Rather, they site them in freely composed groups around microdistrict parks.

Inspired by humanism and widely applying science, technology and industrial construction methods, Soviet architects are creating new and bold esthetic concepts in the process of mass-building homes and community facilities. To achieve greater esthetic heights, Soviet architecture must constantly strive for classic simplicity, graceful proportions, gentle rhythms, elegant details, and an abundance of light and air. From the suburban approaches to the heart of the city, the ennobling splendor of greenery must become an integral part of all cities. Landscaping must receive constant solicitude.

Of all the districts of a city, its center must outshine them all. Its streets should be lined with brightly lit shops, displays and signs, fine cafes, restaurants and theaters. Its sidewalks should be wide, light colored, and graced with gay street furniture and kiosks. Its buildings should be of noble architecture, and its open spaces adorned with parks, plazas, fountains, and sculpture.

Svetlichnyi, B. "Soviet Town Planning Today." Voprosi Ekonomiki No. 7, 1960 (Problems of Economics, Vol. III, No. 8, December 1960, pp. 29-36).

Reviewing progress and current problems in Soviet city building, the author: (1) Cites the efficacy of Soviet city planning principles and proposes improvement in planning, administration and financing. (2) Reaps the waste of city land on uses that could be placed on the outskirts, and the excessive holding by industries of poorly used urban land. (3) Exposes lag in building community facilities and landscaping in finished housing projects. (4) Reviews the expansion and benefits gained from prefabricated housing construction, and concludes that continued industrialization of building and the use of standard housing plans can solve the major problems of Soviet cities.

Some of the author's other comments:

1. The great gains in the Soviet building industry and in housing construction have set the stage for new advances in city building. Soviet cities and urban life can become the world's best in the next few decades if the advantages of publicly owned land and planned economy are made the most of.
2. Only large cities can develop the widest range of economic and cultural facilities to enrich the life of modern man. But beyond a certain point of growth, city bigness acquires negative features that are difficult to control and costly to overcome.
3. To speed their early development, industries were allowed to locate in big cities to profit from the ready supplies of transport, water, housing, power and labor. This practice expanded the country's 73 largest cities but stagnated its other 4,527 small towns. Now that Soviet industry has matured, industrial growth should be shifted to promising small towns. The growth of the latter, to an optimum size of 100,000 to 300,000 people, would, in turn, stimulate urbanization in their hinterlands and extend the process of removing the economic and cultural disparities between city and village.
4. Overgrown cities should be diminished by moving some of their industries, research institutes and universities to satellite towns. We have yet to determine whether to build new satellite towns on vacant land or expand present towns. Preliminary estimates and experience abroad favor the latter alternative. It would save the high costs of utilities and transport in the initial development stages and begin at once the gradual renewal of small towns and their environs.
5. Decentralization of big cities should be dovetailed with the growth of small towns by extending the master plans of the former to include areas within a radius of 100 kilometers (62 miles) from their centers. Only a few cities do this now, and do it poorly.
6. To permit flexible short-range planning, master plans should be limited to long-range planning of land use and transportation. Aerial photos surveying should be expanded to speed land use planning and completion of master plans.

7. To avoid waste to the national economy, national and re-public economic planning must be linked with city planning. Lacking accurate economic forecasts, cities must often revise their plans radically. Streets, utilities and community facilities built for an expected population of 25,000 to 50,000 have had to be rebuilt to meet the needs of unexpected 150,000 to 250,000 people.
8. The receding housing shortage will soon permit to depart from building vast-scale housing on vacant land. All cities should begin preparations to renew obsolete blocks: identify renewal areas, structures to be demolished, preserved or renovated, set reconstruction priorities, design utility improvements, and devise relocation procedures.
9. Urban renewal ought to weigh the fate of the badly built privately owned homes which now cover vast areas of our cities and burden them with economic, social, and esthetic problems. Their replacement with state or cooperative apartment buildings could reduce land coverage in cities by sixty-five to seventy-five percent.

Kucharenko, V.A. "On the State of Urban Development in the U.S.S.R. and Measures for Improving It." Pravda and Izvestia, June 8, 1960 (The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. XII, No. 23, pp. 13-18).

In a report to the All-Union Conference on Urban Development, Kucharenko, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Construction Committee:

1. Compares the volumes of housing construction in the Soviet Union and in advanced capitalist countries.
2. Briefly describes Russia's housing before the revolution and the extent of city and housing destruction in World War II.
3. Lists and describes deficiencies in Soviet city planning.
4. Cites the volume of housing in private homes; criticizes the waste of urban land in small-house development; expects a decline in small-house construction; and urges promotion of cooperative-apartment housing to reduce small-house development.
5. Urges demolition of obsolete buildings and redevelopment of the centers of cities in addition to the current development on vacant land.

6. Calls for comprehensive metropolitan planning of cities and suburbs and extending the authority of chief city architects to the suburban zones of cities.
7. Proposes that the current system of planning housing, children's institutions, stores, laundries, cultural and other public buildings by special agencies be changed to comprehensive planning by a single agency.
8. Assesses housing standards, housing costs, and the quality of community facilities in housing developments.
9. Evaluates the quality of industrialized housing construction: structural soundness, finishes, interior design, lighting, furniture and furnishings.
10. Criticizes the lack of general plans in many cities, the violations of adopted general plans, and the frequent turnover in chief architects, and suggests reorganization of city planning procedures.
11. Urges wider involvement of citizens in city planning and their education in the conduct of municipal affairs.
12. Outlines problems in urban planning needing scientific study and urges expanded training of qualified city planners.

Baranov, N.V. "Regulating the Size of Cities, Buildings and Neighborhoods." Pravda, June 8, 1960 (The Soviet Review, Vol. I, No. 2, September 1960, pp. 38-41).

In June of 1960, Baranov, Chief Secretary of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Construction and Architecture, reported to the All-Union Conference on Urban Construction "On the State and Problems of Urban Planning and the Introduction of Advanced Methods of Community Planning." These are some of the salient points in the report:

1. Soviet city planning seeks to combine, ultimately, the advantages of large cities and small towns and do away with the drawbacks of both.
2. Excessively large concentrations of industry and people in big cities inevitably pollute air and waters, and overly raise per-capita costs of transport, public utility systems, and municipal services. Urban planning must, therefore, strive to limit the size of growing cities and reduce the size of overgrown metropolises. Only a deliberately planned geographic distribution of industry, transport and new satellite towns around the biggest cities can make this possible.

3. Poor planning of transport and parking facilities have slowed traffic in Soviet cities. To speed travel, old streets should be redesigned to separate pedestrian traffic, local vehicular traffic, and high speed through-traffic from each other. Ample parking facilities must be provided and private-car use subordinated to the public interest.
4. Growing suburbs demand revision of urban transport systems. Commuter railroad stations should be rebuilt to permit quick transfer from city transport to suburban trains. Where needed, subways and express bus routes should be extended to speed travel to the suburbs.
5. Many housing projects still use land wastefully, needlessly raising the costs of street and utility networks. For example, the practice of lining apartment buildings along streets, leaving the street backsides undeveloped, is still in vogue. Often housing development is concentrated in districts remote from the center and from work places while closer districts are bypassed. Too many small houses and low buildings are being built. Small hemmed-in blocks are often built up leaving no room for community facilities.
6. No residential neighborhoods should be planned for more than 12,000 people. Beyond this size, public services are not conveniently usable.
7. Industries still plan, finance and build their own enterprises and utilities ignoring the plans of host cities. This practice, wasteful to the national economy, must stop. Industrial expansion must be dovetailed with local master plans.
8. Mechanical repetition of engineering designs and site plans gives a monotonous appearance to housing projects and causes excessive excavation and earth carting costs. Creative site planning and landscape design, with proper regard for orientation and topography, are essential.
9. Long-range master plans should be revised periodically in response to changes in city development and city planning theory.

Pchelintsev, O.S. "Problems of the Development of Large Cities." *Sotsiologia v SSSR*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1965, pp. 270-285.
(The Soviet Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, Winter 1966-1967, pp. 15-23).

Cities grow as a society's economy expands, for labor productivity increases in spatial concentrations of labor and industry. Therefore, the evolution of modern cities is best understood through an analysis of the society's economic development and the spatial distribution of its productive forces.

To save social labor, the Soviet economy demands geographic separation of extractive from manufacturing industries. The first are tied to their sources of raw materials, while the latter gravitate to points of amassed social wealth, skilled labor, and consumption whose locations were determined by earlier capital investments. Both raise big cities; but the first do so slowly, for only high specialization in the manufacturing industries produces rapid urban expansion. As linked specialized industries proliferate in expanding cities they raise labor efficiency, extend the area of economic development, and spread urban culture into the countryside.

The bigger the city the greater its demands for raw and semi-processed materials from distant extractive-industry cities. But the cost of freight transportation relate to the economic not the geographic distance between cities. A city's economic importance increases, therefore, in direct proportion to its population size, wealth and skills. But all cities cannot grow equally big. For the ability of industries to expand cities varies with the demand for, and transportation of, their products and their increase-rates in the ratios of labor to production volume. Hence the location of different industries results in a hierarchy of cities of different size.

* * *

Those who want to restrict city growth to an arbitrary "optimal size" of 50,000 to 200,000 population ignore the fact that city size is determined by objective economic development, and that the process of specialization differentiates cities by size. Moreover, the problems of existing cities within the advocated range of "optimal size" proved to be soluble only by increasing their size, industry and population. Generally, small and medium size cities "suffer not so much from development of urban life as from underdevelopment." Urban growth is not a mechanical process that can be turned off at will. A city grows when its economic structure changes and its industries form a web of linked specialized enterprises using greater skilled-labor input per unit of product weight. By focusing on negative and arbitrary methods of stopping growth rather than on positive development programs, the advocates of "optimal size" sow confusion.

They fail to reveal the real big-city problems or show how to solve them.

The last decade's experience in Soviet economy amply proves the progressive role of big cities in socialist society and the necessary connection between industrial growth and the development of a system of cities. Idealization of the middle-size city obscures its transitional role in the history of cities. Indeed, even the big city is but a passing form in history. A new, qualitatively different, form of settlement is emerging to resolve its inner contradictions stifling congestion and inefficient, disorderly mix of residential, industrial, transportation and other urban functions.

If the evolving settlements of communist society are to erase the differences between town and country, they must synthesize the best in both by spatially joining industry and agriculture. This process takes place, in fact, when socialist economic development merges cities, suburbs and villages as it expands the big cities to form urban regions. Industrial growth, modern transport, an ever spreading grid of power, water, heat, and telecommunication networks, break down old spatial limits, extend the areas of intensive development, permit rational zoning of urban functions, and improve human life. Forming a vast pool of consumers, goods and services, high skills, and modern transport, the expanding urban region tends to attract and develop intensive farming and promote exploitation of local raw materials. Intensive farming, in turn, aids, and is aided by, organization of public recreation. Thus, the expanding urban region creates an integrated spatial-social whole. Providing a material base for production and cultural contacts between them, it unites industry with agriculture -- city with country -- and erases their differences.

The development of urban regions is inevitable. For economic and social development demands an ever rising number of industrial, trade, cultural and recreational facilities within cities and room for their growth. Progress would suffer were large cities forbidden to grow. The expanding system of urban regions will complete, in time, the process of erasing the differences between city and village throughout the country. This system will grow as smaller cities around primary industries repeat the growth process of the older cities and expand into vast urban regions. Thus, through intensive and uniform geographic development man will fully master his environment and steadily improve the quality of life.

In summary, the concept of urban regions has these advantages over the notion of "optimal size": (1) It links spatially industry with agriculture, providing the necessary conditions for eliminating the differences between city and country. (2) It permits a rational use of inter-city spaces which the

"optimal size" idea relegates to purely agricultural use. (3) It synthesizes the classical forms of village and city, for it combines within its structure the spaciousness and advanced agriculture of the village with the intensive land use, industry and urbanity of the city. (4) Unlike the "optimal size" idea, it continues the evolutionary process of the city whose components are allowed to grow and rearrange in space. Thus quantitative change will lead to a qualitative leap -- a new spatial form of social life.

With the growth of intensively developed urban regions man will free himself once and for all from "the desolateness, isolation, and limited human contacts of provincial life, and from the unhealthy congestion of large cities."

Strumilin, S. "Family and Community in the Society of the Future." Novy Mir, No. 7, 1960 (The Soviet Review, Vol. II, No. 2, February 1961, pp. 3-24).

Looking ahead to the growth of a communist society in the 1980's, Soviet economist Strumilin outlines the probable development of its life style, social ethics, and social and family life; its attitude to property and its mode of consumption; and its relations between working adults, children, the aged, and the infirm living in centrally linked self-governing communes.

Great national wealth will mark the transition from the present socialist to the future communist society. Abundant child-rearing institutions, medical facilities, central kitchens, dining halls and restaurants, will free all women from private housekeeping and economic dependence on men, and grant them all social opportunities on par with men. Love, made purer by such independence, will be the sole bond uniting husband and wife, parents and children. Rule over wives by husbands, and over children by parents, will cease. A citizen's rights will begin at birth, including the right to a good upbringing. Parents will retain only those child-rearing functions which society can trust that their inexperienced handling will do no harm. Selected, well trained personnel will rear children through nursery, full-time kindergarten, and boarding school from which young citizens will graduate to independent life. Children's quarters will form sections of a commune so that mothers can nurse infants and children can visit with parents after work to share family joys.

Each commune will have a council of wives and mothers entrusted with control over communal services and the care of children, the aged, and the infirm.

Regional differences will probably vary the physical forms of communal society. Generally, however, the society may inhabit well designed and built "palace communes" organized along the lines of a modern hospital or hotel. "Palace communes" might locate near plants or other urban and rural work centers. Groups of communes would form urban micro-districts within which residents would find all the facilities needed to meet their daily living and cultural needs.

Schematically, the "palace commune" might be a large four-story building placed around a recreational park. Its first floor would contain service offices, shops and stores, medical facilities, post office, barber and beauty shops, laundry, library, club rooms, and other community facilities. One wing of the second floor would house the children's quarters, and the other -- the aged and infirm needing special care, and on-duty personnel. The third floor would comprise two- and three-room apartments for married couples, and the fourth would house working youths, students, and other single people in one-room apartments. The "palace commune" would thus offer privacy in apartment units and comradesly communion in the dining rooms and at social and recreational activities. Association at work, residence, and recreation would mold the commune's dwellers into a single producer-consumer-social collective.

Although the Soviet Union cannot now afford to provide palace-communes for all its people, experimental development, Strumilin thinks, should begin now. "A planned economy," he states, "implies calculation running decades ahead. If we (build now) without an eye to the needs of communist daily life, we shall pay dearly one day for our shortsightedness. The houses we build now are not temporary buildings...."

Basamurov, K. "Transport in a Big City." The Soviet Review, Vol. 3, No. 5, May 1962, pp. 60-62.

Basamurov, the chief engineer of Moscow's Municipal Transport Administration, reviews the city's plan for improvement and expansion of its transport system. The emphasis of the plan is on getting the maximum possible speed and every possible passenger convenience.

Among the planned improvements:

1. A noiseless, high-speed monorail system between points on the Moscow subway and the city's airport and suburban recreation centers.
2. A helicopter system to transport suburban commuters.

3. Replacement of the present truck-chassis internal-combustion-engine buses with buses of a new design fitted with electric motors, air conditioning, wide doors, and low steps.
4. Expansion of the public transport system to bring subway stations within a maximum of one kilometer (.62 of a mile) and bus stops within 500 meters (1,640 feet) from any residential block.
5. To make public transport service free of charge.
6. To serve pedestrian traffic with conveyor overpasses at busy street intersections and with moving sidewalks in contained, heavy-pedestrian-traffic areas having long walking distances (stadia, exhibit grounds).
7. To extend the highway system and adopt advanced traffic control methods.

Zhukov, Konstantin V. Housing in the Soviet Union. Translated from the Russian. Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, circa 1963, 45 pp. Illustrated.

A summary of facts and figures on housing construction and expenditures in the U.S.S.R.: the heritage from the pre-revolutionary period; progress between 1917 and 1942; the extent of destruction during the Nazi invasion; housing construction since the war up to 1963; the current short-range housing construction program up to 1965; the long-range Soviet housing and redevelopment policy and program in urban and rural areas up to 1980.

The author briefly discusses the planning, design and administrative organization of the housing and urban redevelopment programs and the trends in the U.S.S.R. building industry.

Davidovich, V.G. "Satellite Cities and Towns of the U.S.S.R." in Goroda-Sputniki (Satellite Cities), V.G. Davidovich and B.S. Khorev, Editors. Moscow: Geographical Publishing House, 1961, 193 pp., pp. 5-39 (Soviet Geography, Vol. III, No. 3, March 1962, pp. 3-35). Tables. Charts. Maps. Transliteration table.

The author discusses the characteristics, functions, location, and development trends of satellite places in Soviet metropolitan areas. He defines a "satellite place" as a community that: (a) Is located within less than 100 kilometers (62 miles) from a central city. (b) Is linked with that city economically and shares with it a common path of development. (c) Has part of its population employed in the central city,

and vice versa. (d) Shares with the city convenient transportation and communication lines. (e) Depends on the central city's cultural and service institutions. (f) Provides recreational, resort, or other services for people in the central city.

The author describes the functional types of satellite places; lists the number and sizes of central cities, satellite and separate urban places in 1959; and discusses patterns of Soviet metropolitan areas of over 400,000 population.

Some of his comments:

1. The future distribution of urban and rural populations depends on the locations assigned by long-range economic planning to production enterprises and cultural and public-health facilities. National economic planning must coordinate the simultaneous redevelopment of central cities and their satellites and the formation of new satellites.
2. It is, probably, more useful and economical to redevelop and expand the many satellites formed in the last three decades than build new satellites on open land. This is especially true in large metropolitan areas.
3. To solve the many scientific and practical problems of future metropolitan development, it is necessary to analyze the present patterns, geographic conditions, economic functions, development prospects, and the quality of the natural environment of metropolitan areas. Studies should be made with an eye to improving living conditions and lowering the cost of utility services.
4. Economic and cultural institutions moved to control excessive city growth and equalize the spatial distribution of production forces, need not necessarily locate in big-city satellites. Where possible, they should be moved outside the metropolitan areas, or even to other economic regions.
5. Of the existing 319 satellite cities, 236 do not fall within the generally recommended optimum-size range of 30,000 to 80,000 population. Studies show the desirable population range for industrial cities to be 50,000 to 200,000. If the national economy demands it, an even wider range -- 10,000 to 400,000 -- may be acceptable.
6. The location and planning of future cities should be based equally on their assigned role in the development of the national economy and on the health-and-welfare interests of their populations.

7. To reduce commuting time and costs, the size of satellites should be kept as small as possible. "Dormitory towns" should be discouraged or severely limited in size. Rather than move dormitory-towners to city jobs, more jobs should move out of the city, as should those city-based workers who work in the suburbs.
8. The tendency to expand satellite cities horizontally and merge them along railroad lines should be avoided. Rather, new satellites should be placed along little used railroads, expanded vertically at increased densities, and separated from each other with green belts.
9. Technical and economic studies should precede decisions on location of new industrial plants. The advantages of expanding the existing city should be weighed against those of building a new satellite. Such studies have already led to this general rule: "The larger the new plant near the old city, the greater the intervening distance, and the smaller the old city, the more economical is the construction of a new satellite town."

Osborn, Robert J. and Thomas A. Reiner. "Soviet City Planning." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, November 1962, pp. 239-250. With a bibliography of 27 English and 11 Russian references.

Based chiefly on readings of self-criticism in the Soviet press, as well as of other sources, the article cites the objectives and evaluates the effectiveness of city planning in the USSR. It observes that rapid urbanization of the country's population and the growth of Siberian cities mark current Soviet city development.

The following objectives are cited:

1. Separation of urban areas into residential, recreational, and industrial zones.
2. Determination of optimum population sizes for cities.
3. Equal distribution within cities of educational, health and shopping facilities.
4. Division of residential areas into "microdistricts" (populations of 5,000 to 15,000, at a density of about 150 people per acre) bounded by major traffic streets, each fully provided with facilities and amenities needed to satisfy daily human needs in peace and safety.

5. Building of four- to five-story apartment houses grouped to promote communal life and services, planned to reduce or eliminate wasteful individual housekeeping, laid out to utilize urban land efficiently, and engineered to reduce construction and operating costs.
6. Decongestion of the big cities through construction of satellite towns placed within fifty miles from their centers.
7. Creation of industrial parks provided with service establishments, municipal utilities and transport networks.

The authors pass the following judgements on the effectiveness of Soviet city planning:

1. City and regional government powers are vested in the province, district and city Soviets. But national industry and economic agencies have dominated local affairs, allocated scarce resources for economic development and hindered city improvement. Although since 1957 local governments have been slowly strengthened against domination by national agencies, city planning and its implementation are still being thwarted.
2. Lacking knowledge of local needs, far-from-the-scene central authorities have tended to violate local planning and cause industrial and population congestion in the big cities and underutilization of the small towns.
3. Many cities lack master planning and basic survey data.
4. There is a shortage of qualified city planners, insufficient training of city planning cadres, and a large turnover of city planning personnel.
5. Because of reluctance to demolish usable living space under conditions of housing scarcity, Soviet urban redevelopment has proceeded slowly.
6. To avoid large-scale relocation, Soviet city planners practice restraint in big-city population control and limit themselves to the use of the passport system and to checks over the location of new industries.

The authors group the difficulties they see in Soviet city planning into three categories:

1. Doctrinal difficulties:
 - (a) Emphasis on national capital accumulation.

- (b) Dogmatic attitudes toward rent, interest and pricing of materials and equipment.
 - (c) Decision making on the assumption that there is but one correct solution to similar problems in all cities.
 - (d) Subjection of city planning to dual guide lines: those of immediate economic demands and those of an ideal future.
2. Administrative difficulties:
- (a) Prevalence of distant central agencies over local governments in municipal affairs.
 - (b) Placing a premium on national policy and on centrally determined solutions.
3. Environmental difficulties:
- (a) The premium put on satisfying industrial goals because of scarcities, war damages, and rapid industrialization.
 - (b) The high-paced settlement of underdeveloped regions.

The result, say the authors, "is an urban area operating on a de facto standard of minimal welfare."

Fisher, Jack C. "Planning the City of Socialist Man." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, November 1962, pp. 251-265. 15 illustrations.

After eighteen months of travel and study in East European countries, the author, a Cornell University professor of city and regional planning, reports on and evaluates socialist city planning. These are his chief observations:

1. In contrast with the generally passive forecasting of spontaneous development in capitalist countries, active planning is a universal characteristic of socialist city development.
2. In socialist countries city planning is integrated with overall economic planning. In the present era, national planning gives highest priority to industrialization and a secondary place to city development.

3. The present goals of socialist city planning are:

- (1) To correct the ills inherited from the capitalist era:
 - (a) Remove the contradictions between city and village, i.e., introduce the amenities of nature to cities and the amenities of urban culture to rural areas;
 - (b) Rationally locate industry, power and transportation;
 - (c) Equally distribute residential facilities to all citizens.
- (2) To replace the urban pattern inherited from a class society with a qualitatively different pattern in which:
 - (a) The unity of the people in a classless society is expressed;
 - (b) Sharp distinctions among its various parts are avoided;
 - (c) The social composition and the quality of residential areas are everywhere the same.

The author observes these operational principles in socialist city planning:

1. Establishment of per-capita housing norms to achieve uniformity in living space allocation and savings in housing costs.
2. Control of city size by maintaining a rational proportion between its labor force and its total population.
3. Giving priority to development of the city core as a political-cultural-administrative center of the city.
4. Division of the city into self contained operational-administrative neighborhood units.

Describing some East European cities, the author discusses the impact of socialist city planning tenets on their patterns; their difficulties, created by rapid growth and influx of rural populations; and the compromises made in the face of practical and economic pressures. He gives these reasons for the hitherto partial success of socialist city planning:

1. The war devastation of most socialist cities and the high cost of restoring them to minimum living conditions.
2. Political rigidity of the Stalin era and its effects on architectural form and city-planning concepts.
3. Lack of skills in design and construction.
4. Emphasis on high investment in heavy industry and relatively low resource allocation to housing and urban development.

The author observes, however, that in recent years the city planning skills have been increasing consistently and cities have taken a greater share of the national investment.

Fisher, Jack C. Zygmunt Piore, and Milos Savic. "Socialist City Planning: A Reexamination." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, February 1965, pp. 31-42.

Critical reviews by Dr. Piore of the Warsaw Institute of Town Planning and Architecture and Architect Savic of Yugoslavia of an article by Dr. Fisher (see Fisher, Jack, "Planning the City of Socialist Man"), and the latter's rejoinder.

Commending the author for his objectivity, Piore and Savic offer these critical comments:

1. Fisher had drawn conclusions about the state of socialist city planning from project examples which do not fully represent current theory and practice.
2. Whereas Fisher correctly reported the role of the neighborhood unit in Socialist city planning, he misconstrued the concepts and evolution of the Socialist city center.
3. Fisher mistakes attempts to achieve uniform standards of urban service (following the Socialist "principle of equal possibilities") for "urban uniformity."
4. Far from failing to limit the growth of cities, as Fisher charges, Socialist planners, despite the short history of their experience, have been successfully shaping the social, economic and physical conditions needed to achieve rational urban concentrations.
5. Fisher wrongly used temporary per-capita space allocations during the recent slum liquidation period to evaluate Socialist housing standards, and ignored the high standards achieved in the new neighborhood unit projects.

6. Although better apartments are being built for high income families, as Fisher correctly reports, their dispersal within the neighborhood units is designed to prevent spatial segregation of any single segment of society.

To correct the impression left by Dr. Fisher's inaccuracies, the critics restate the chief Socialist city planning principles and describe the continuing search for programs and appropriate physical forms to develop the Socialist cities of the future.

In his rejoinder, Dr. Fisher:

1. Concurs that in recent years the Socialist countries have steadily improved their housing and urban facilities and advanced city planning theory.
2. Defends his charge that per-capita housing space has declined in East European countries.
3. Insists that the centers of Socialist cities have tended to acquire a commercial character in contradiction to the stated ideal of forming them as cultural-administrative-political centers.

Davidovich, V.G. "On the Patterns and Tendencies of Urban Settlement in the U.S.S.R." Voprosi Geografii, No. 66, pp. 6-33. (Soviet Geography, Vol. VII, No. 1, January 1966, pp. 3-30. Tables. Charts. Diagrams.)

Geographer Davidovich analyzes the development of Soviet urban population patterns, trends in geographic population distribution, relationships between types of cities and their populations, big-city growth control, the system of regional administrative-cultural centers, and the trend to formation of urban clusters.

The process of Soviet urban development, he concludes, is not always smooth, nor does it follow a strict pattern. Its contradictions may set off negative trends such as the excessive growth of big cities. Making use of the objective laws of settlement, such trends must be checked in the interests of society.

The nation's program to build a communist society demands that the development of its urban and rural settlement network be fully integrated with its long-range economic and cultural plans. Urban geography assumes great importance in such planning, states the author as he outlines a research program to seek the scientific data needed for this task.

Hunttable, Ada Louise. "Building the Soviet Society." The Architectural Forum, Vol. 127, No. 4, November 1967, pp. 32-41. Illustrated.

After an extended tour of the U.S.S.R., the architectural critic of The New York Times reports on Soviet architecture and urban design.

Among her impressions and comments:

1. In the last ten years, the Soviet Union has mounted "the most concentrated, large-scale attack on housing problems and on the industrialization of building anywhere in the world at any time in history."
2. The Soviet housing program has focused on developing building technology and mass production; design has been given second-best attention. But both design and building are growing in sophistication. "The buildings are increasingly sleek, assured, uncompromisingly contemporary versions of the International Style..." and "technologically, Soviet building now leaves much of the world behind."
3. Soviet builders use standard plans repeatedly to speed relief from the desperate housing shortage. The housing produced "depresses the Western visitor with its uniformity, but its norm is better than much of Western production...(and) esthetically it is improving all the time."
4. "The fact that (Soviet architecture) is now moving toward a new esthetic level...and that this new style is based on Soviet technological achievement has a genuine significance.... It is an art form re-fused in the fires of technology for the most urgent contemporary uses.... The U.S.S.R. is moving faster than any other nation on one of modern building's most important frontiers. It has helped to re-define architecture in the 20th century."

Frolic, Michael B. "The Soviet City." Town Planning Review, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4, January 1964, pp. 285-306. Tables. Photos. Plans. Bibliography.

In a study of Soviet planning literature, Frolic finds that socialist cities differ from capitalist cities both in theory and in their evolving physical forms. He cites economist S. G. Strumilin's model of the future socialist city to illustrate Soviet city planning theory, and the microdistrict -- the basic unit of Soviet city building -- to show the physical forms socialist cities take.

Though many Soviet planners oppose Strumilin's model, Frolic thinks its basic principles most clearly express socialist goals and are, in fact, reflected in Soviet urban construction. Life in Strumilin's city is communal in character. Although their personal needs are met, people find their fulfillment through participation within the group. But the nature of the family changes. Communal food, housekeeping, and around-the-clock infant and child care and education services free women for full and active citizenship. Hence, the home shrinks in importance and size.

The microdistricts (described in detail) are, in Frolic's opinion, a compromise between Strumilin's model city and what is economically possible today. In providing central kitchens, children's institutions, and a host of cultural, shopping and service facilities, they adopt some of Strumilin's concepts of social integration. Despite their variety in size, plan, and appearance they present a consistent, distinctly socialist way of building new residential units. Using the integrated microdistrict as a city-building block and fostering collective habits among the citizens, Soviet planners expect to achieve, in time, controlled urban growth without the slums, traffic jams, pollution and noise of capitalist cities.

Final evaluation of the success of socialist cities, says Frolic, must wait until about 1980. By then, completed microdistricts will have been universally used and their socialist administration fully tested.

Osborn, Robert J. "How the Russians Plan Their Cities." Trans-Action (a publication of the Community Leadership Project of Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri), Vol. 3, No. 6, September-October 1966, pp. 25-30.

Osborn, a student of Soviet administration and urban affairs, chides American planners for basing their judgments of Soviet city planning and planners on "'open versus closed society' dichotomy" and "finding ideological rather than practical reasons for every Soviet action." Adding to the resulting confusion, says he, Russian theoretical writers, too, tend to "dig around for ideological reasons to explain away anything which was once in favor but is now rejected." Osborn compares some fallacies commonly held among American planners with facts in Soviet planning practice.

Fallacy 1. Official dogma and bureaucracy suppress creativity and produce monotonous buildings and cities.

Fact: Opinions and tastes vary widely among Soviet planners. But current national economic priorities dictate plain, inexpensive design, use of stereotyped plans, mass-production of buildings, and stress industrial production rather than civil building. "This and nothing more sinister is the reason why so much new city building in the Soviet Union is monotonous."

Fallacy 2. Soviet planning bears no relation to planning in capitalist countries. Party dogma and control preclude intellectual and theoretical growth or the exercise of independent rational judgment in planning.

Fact: Soviet city planning problems and trends are similar, in many ways, to those in other industrial countries. Soviet planners "are not rigidly bound by political theory or unduly subject to party interference." They debate ideas as hotly and in as free and creative a climate as planners anywhere in the world. They agree on only two principles: first, public ownership of land is essential for healthy urban growth, and, second, the use of the land must be centrally planned.

Fallacy 3. Stalinist ideology -- a distortion of Marxism -- produced the pre-1953 heavy and ornate Soviet architecture. The post-1953 increase in private-home building and adoption of the shopping center show pragmatism in planning and "privatization" of Soviet life -- a deviation from Marxist ideology.

Fact: There was nothing Marxist, either correct or deviant, about the architecture of the Stalin period. It expressed Russian nationalism (as well as Stalin's taste), which, at that time, favored grandiose projects. The public taste which produced it cannot be called "ideological" any more than the taste being Burnham's Plan for Chicago. It is equally senseless to describe post-Stalin building forms as a trend "away from Marxist ideology" or a "pragmatic approach." Aid to private-house building is simply one measure used to relieve the acute housing shortage. And the shopping center was adopted because "Russian planners and architects are ...willing to use ideas they find practical, irrespective of their source."

Fallacy 4. Construction of hotel-type apartment buildings shows renewed efforts to "communize" society and undermine family life.

Fact: The hotel-type apartment buildings are intended for young single people who now live in uncomfortable dormitories found in all Soviet cities.

Fallacy 5. Microdistricts -- the officially approved unit of Soviet city building -- are a political- police device designed to break up family life and substitute for it loyalty to state and community.

Fact: Microdistricts are self-contained residential neighborhoods of 5,000 to 20,000 people living in apartments grouped around shops, parks, and other community facilities. They are meant to provide a large array of community services and not for any kind of social or political control. "Neither the microdistricts nor the larger residential districts into which they fit have any political (or administrative) function. Their boundaries do not coincide with administrative divisions, which are much bigger."

"In the Soviet Union," concludes Osborn, "urban planners are conscientious professional architects, pragmatic in their social outlook, and occupied, as in other countries, with building design, land use patterns, city growth and urban amenities. In many of these areas their problems can realistically be compared with those of American city planners. Their aims and accomplishments deserve serious attention abroad."

Frolic, Michael B. "The Soviet Study of Soviet Cities." Journal of Politics, Vol. 32, No. 3, August 1970, pp. 675-695. Bibliographic references.

Frolic compares impressions of his visits to the Soviet Union in 1969 and 1965.

Rapid urbanization and concentration of urban dwellers in the large cities, he reports, has stimulated a ferment in Soviet urban studies. The findings of political scientists, sociologists, city planners, geographers, econocrats and other students of Soviet cities have caused substantial revision of official city planning guide lines. Their research centers on five questions: "(1) Is there a universal urban culture? (2) How can we preserve community in modern cities? (3) How big should cities be? (4) Should municipal administration be professionalized? (5) What are the limits of decentralization and urban autonomy?"

Soviet urban scholars now assume that a unique urban way of life, different from and superior to the rural, now exists in the Soviet Union; that this way of life is part of a universal process, having its own laws, proceeding differently in various countries depending on their technological and economic growth, political relations and culture; that Soviet urban "scholars and officials have been delinquent in their study and understanding of this process;" that contradictions exist between the urban way of life and socialist goals and values but that "socialist solutions can be found for most urban problems."

Soviet sociological findings show a decrease in social intercourse in neighborhood units because urban dwellers make friends at work rather than in their residential communities. "Neighborliness declines in cities as community structure becomes more differentiated." Some Soviet sociologists state that city neighborhoods fail because they "contradict the very nature of the city...which requires greater, rather than less mobility." They maintain, however, that Soviet cities are superior to those in the West because the Soviet Union has central planning with which it avoids many of the problems of urbanization, and because urban land is publicly owned making possible rational land use in the public interest. To develop community in Soviet cities, some city planners suggest improving the communal service facilities in residential units. Others think that the success of neighborhood units would confront people with "the tyranny of neighborhood control and neighbors' opinions, one of the worst features of small town and rural life."

Soviet economist Pervodentsev sparked a public debate on how big a city should be when he argued that what is known about city size speaks in favor of large cities, that big cities are more economical than small ones for they develop a higher productivity of labor and higher returns on assets, and they can be administered as easily as small ones. The present policy of limiting the growth of big cities, he has argued, is not based on accurate knowledge of the objective laws of urban growth. His critics have stated, however, that he had exaggerated the economic advantages of big cities and that limiting their growth will prove economical in the long run.

Promotion of volunteer urban administrators, Frolic reports, is slowly giving way to professionalization and perfection of administrative apparatus. There is also a trend to professionalize Soviet deputies by electing them to full-time rather than part-time service in city governments. Owing to rapid urbanization, city governments have been assuming greater responsibilities and acquiring more powers. Urban scholars and officials have been demanding to broaden these powers to control industries, operating under the jurisdiction of national ministries, and make municipal government more effective.

Based on his study of Soviet city planning and administration literature and on interviews with city officials, Frolic draws a comparative analysis of urban decision making, urban leadership, and urban research between the Soviet Union and North America.

Fisher, Jack C. (Editor). City and Regional Planning in Poland. New York: Cornell University Press, 1966. 491 pp. Illustrated. Maps. Diagrams. Photos. Tables. Charts.

A collection of essays by twenty-three Polish scholars, planners and administrators. Grouped in three parts according to the three Polish administrative planning levels -- city, regional, and national -- the essays comprise an integrated statement of contemporary Polish social philosophy, ideals, and planning practices. A short introduction to each part reviews the essays it contains and describes the nature of each level of planning and its relationship to the other planning levels.

In Poland, city and regional planning implement, within cities and regions, the national economic plan and feed back data on their areas' needs, resources and possibilities. Concerned with local problems of municipal economy, city planning is implemented by province and local authorities. Regional planning, however, is closely tied to national planning and functions under the supervision of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers.

Collectively, the essays explain postwar conditions, development in the postwar reconstruction and present periods, and the probable course of future action.

Part One of the volume includes essays on the "History of Urban Development and Planning" in Poland from medieval times to date, "Urban Planning Theory and Results," "Postwar Housing Development in Poland," "Sociological Implications of Urban Planning," and "A View of Architectural Theory." Three essays present case histories: "Development of the General Plan of Warsaw," "Main Urban Planning Problems in the Silesian-Krakow Industrial Region," and "City Planning in the Gdansk-Gdynia Conurbation." Appended to Part One are abstracts of the 1961 Spatial Planning Act of the Peoples' Republic of Poland, the 1951 Provisional Town Planning Standards, and the 1961 Main Standards for Programming Housing Estates.

Part Two describes the basic theory and methods of Polish regional planning. It includes essays on "Postwar Changes in the Polish Economic and Social Structure," "Regional Planning in Poland: Theory, Methods, and Results," "Water Economy in Poland," "Rural Planning in Poland," and "Research Activity of the Committee for Space Economy and Regional Planning." Three case studies give examples of regional planning and development in three areas with different economic structures: the Upper Silesia industrial district, the province of Krakow, and the province of Bialstok.

The essays in Part Three deal with "Location Policy and the Regional Efficiency of Investment," and "The Long-term Plan for Polish Expansion, 1961-1980." In his essay "The Role of Science in the Development of Socialist Society, with Special Regard to the Science of Economics," Oscar Lange relates systematic Marxist thought to current Polish experience.

Fisher, Jack C. "City Planning and Housing Administration in Yugoslavia." Urban Affairs, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 1965, pp. 59-71.

In Yugoslavia, as in other socialist countries, states Fisher, the federal government is shifting greater financial responsibility and decision-making powers to local and regional authorities. The author describes: 1) The research, planning, and administrative functions of institutions for city planning and development in several Yugoslav cities; 2) The conflicts which local autonomy has introduced between the interests of regions and those of their component parts; 3) Changes in Yugoslav housing administration practice, policy, and rents 1946-1960; and 4) Housing construction 1956-1962.

Fisher, Jack C. Yugoslavia -- A Multinational State: Regional Differences and Administrative Response. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1966. 244 pp. Illustrated. Photos. Maps. Charts. Tables. Bibliography. Glossary of selected terms.

Fisher presents a wealth of statistical, cartographic and photographic data on Yugoslavia's cities and regions, and appraises its economic growth and its governmental response to its regional variation within its federal state structure. He draws his findings and conclusions from extensive travel and interviews in Yugoslavia and from 1961 statistics for 55 cities of over 20,000 population and for all of the country's communes (local administrations).

The author briefly reviews the country's history after World War I and since its establishment, in 1945, as a socialist state; evaluates local administrations and their housing and planning policies; analyzes local administration and regional growth from the vantage of the central government and national economic planning; examines the country's cities, regional structure, and the differences among the cities and communes; and analyzes the changing political structure at the local level.

In past centuries, the political and cultural domination of Yugoslavia's North by European powers and its South by Turkey, produced extreme differences in levels of economic and social development between the relatively advanced north and the

underdeveloped south regions. Fisher's analysis demonstrates that the country's urban pattern and characteristics and demographic and occupational variations reflect these differences still. Neither the rapid growth of the national economy in the socialist period nor the regional and republic administrative autonomy have significantly reduced regional disparities.

The author concludes that national-growth statistics reveal little of the internal development pattern in socialist countries. He urges "increased study of local administrative institutions and regional growth as well as central power structure and national economic planning...to examine the impact of federal policy on local agencies and the restraint which local bodies generate over central authority."

Gorinsky, Juliusz. "Urbanization Dilemmas in Poland." Polish Perspectives, Vol. XI, No. 5, May 1968, pp. 28-38.

In a brief summary of Poland's history of urbanization, Gorinsky describes the country's historically developed dense network of small towns "that has become an integral part of the social and cultural landscape." Despite the rapid growth of Poland's postwar socialist economy, the urban population, doubled in the past twenty years, remains evenly distributed. But the expected industrial growth in the next twenty years threatens to upset the present balance.

In socialist, as in capitalist, society, industries tend to agglomerate to gain economies of scale. Hence the biggest cities and towns tend to grow at a faster rate than small towns do. If left unchecked, says the author, the trend will persist or intensify, and "population will drift from small towns to the bigger and from these to the biggest.... To what extent," he asks, "must a planned economy, gathering as it does a powerful battery of economic levers into the hands of the central planning authority, control these tendencies...? Should major investment projects...be restricted to the biggest towns?"

Given Poland's unique pattern of towns and the use of modern transport, Gorinsky submits, new industries might best be sited between towns rather than within a town. In Poland's thick settlement network, in which towns are often within walking distance of each other, a half-hour's ride by car or bus "could cover an area containing up to a dozen towns." Thus small-towners would gain new opportunities in jobs, education, social life and recreation as industries gain their economies of scale. "The result would be the emergence of settlement nexuses...(forming) urbanized regions made up of (residential) towns...linked to each other by shared industrial centers."

"The space forms of urbanization to which we should be working," adds Gorinsky, "must assure a wide freedom of choice as regards place and type of habitation and directions of education and employment so as to provide opportunities for a full development of personality. At the same time this model must guarantee the utmost effectiveness of the social resources expended on its translation into practice and above all it must make for careful husbandry of the limited supply of space which as population grows will become an increasingly scarce and precious asset."

Frolic, Michael B. (compiler). An Annotated Bibliography on Soviet Urban and Regional Planning and Administration (mimeographed). Exchange Bibliography E-1. Eugene, Oregon: Council of Planning Librarians, 1963. 34 pp.

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